background information

FOR CHURCH AND SOCIETY

March 1958 SPECIAL AFRICA NUMBER No. 19

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Note for this Africa Issue

"The Church in a Changing Africa..." In varied forms this has been the theme of recent Christian conferences in Africa, and in this issue of Background Information are collected some of the interesting papers delivered at these meetings.

The study of the relation of the Church to the political and social movements of the New Africa is, for many reasons, still in its very early stage. But Christian groups have begun to express their concern, and it is noteworthy that African laymen as well as clergy are taking up such problems.

An analysis of the Christian responsibility for political life is a difficult assignment in any circumstances, but in Africa, as in many other areas of rapid social change, it sometimes takes great courage to state views on this question. Dr. Bebey-Eyidi, a Baptist layman, and the author of the first paper in our collection, was imprisoned two days after presenting it to a study conference on the Christian Responsibility in Areas of Rapid Social Change in the Cameroons. It is hoped that following the recent changes in the cabinet of the government, which is made up of Africans, under French Trusteeship, Dr. Bebey-Eyidi may be released but at the present writing he is still in prison for his strong nationalist views.

The paper by Pastor Roland du Pury on the Meaning and Necessity of the Social Responsibility of the Church was also presented to the study conference in the Cameroons. Pastor du Pury, formerly pastor in Lyons, France, is now on a special assignment to teach in the Reformed theological schools in the Cameroons.

One of the important meetings in Africa this winter was the All-Africa Church Conference held at Ibadan, Nigeria. For the first time churches from every part of Africa came together for discussion of their common problems. In his report, Mr. Philip Potter, the executive secretary of the Youth Department of the World Council, and one of the leaders of the conference, describes what the meeting meant to those who were present. (We are grateful to the World Alliance of Y.M.C.As, for permission to use Mr. Potter's statement which was originally presented to the Second West African Conference of Y.M.C.As meeting in Monrovia, Liberia, in January.)

Two speeches from the Ibadan conference are of special concern to those interested in Christian thinking about society. The first is by Mr. Henry Makulu, a Christian youth leader from The Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, who reports on the problems of Industrialisation and Urbanisation in his area. We also present excerpts from the speech by Mr. Alan Paton, the South African novelist, who spoke to the conference on issues of Church and State.

The publication of the article, The Crisis for France in North Africa by André Philip, in France-Observateur, caused the March 7 issue of this French weekly to be confiscated by the French police. Prof. Philip, a leading Protestant layman and a member of the Working Committee for the World Council's Department on Church and Society, has been known for his courageous

opposition to French government policy in North Africa.

Many readers have inquired about the policy of Background Informatio in restricting the republication of articles it publishes. Our explanation is that the unofficial and semi-confidential character of some of our material or the source from which it comes makes it desirable to publish it all as a private document. Requests for the republication of particular articles are welcome.

I.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN AFRICA AND THE CHURCHES' RESPONSIBILITY

By Dr. Marcel BEBEY-EYIDI

I shall begin with two preliminary observations.

In the first place, a simple Christian like myself makes no pretense of giving the point of view of "the churches" on this delicate problem. I find considerable reassurance in the fact that a missionary will shortly supplement my talk by presenting the theological point of view. This means that I will give here only some personal ideas which have no dogmatic or doctrinal pretensions.

My second observation has to do with my being introduced as an "African politician". The term politician, as you know, has a double meaning. It serves to designate, in an uncomplimentary way, someone who concerns himself with politics in an ill-considered manner and without much understanding. In its other sense politician means a man of politics, someone who devotes himself entirely to political activities, a professional of politics.

Even taken in this sense, the word "politician" still does not apply to me. I am a doctor before all and I love my work. It is true that I use my leisure, when I have any, to direct my publication "Opinion in the Cameroons", a weekly newspaper characterized by the number of attacks of which it is the object. In addition, I have been chief of the cabinet of Mr. Aujoulat, formerly Secretary of State in the French Overseas Ministry in 1950. But I busy myself more with medicine and sanitary organization than with pure politics. The fact that I have been a candidate in elections and have been sent to the U.N. as delegate of the Association of Notables of the Cameroons, does not prove that I am ready to give up my original vocation to embrace permanently a political career.

Actually, the Cameroons still have only a few men who are "professional" politicians, which is not at all a bad thing. The truth is, many Cameroonians take an interest in the future and the affairs of their country, which inevitably leads them to a concern with African or world problems, because of the interdependence of human and political problems. Thus a number of us in this generation, justly called the "sacrificed generation", concern ourselves with politics less through vocation or passion than through the historical necessity of the times in the Cameroons.

This last observation leads me to raise the following questions: Should a citizen take an interest in the politics of his country? Does a Christian have obligations and a role to play in the political domain? What are his

responsibilities in the actual situation of Africa?

I shall try to answer these questions. But first, in order to orientate and clarify the subject I shall review the political evolution of Africa in the course of the last century, taking the Cameroons as typical, according to the following chronological plan:

1. The colonial past.
2. The war and the post-war period.
3. The present and the outlook for the future.

The Colonial Past.

This was the period which ended with the last world war. It was the colonial era when social relations were characterized by all the institutions born of the racist theories of the philosophers and politicians of the 19th century. These theories tended to prove the superiority of the white race over all the others and, therefore, to define a certain "civilizing mission" in whose name the indisputable right of colonization was established. From this derived the well-known colonialist mentality of the white men.

Recalling this epoch in his study, "The Church and Anticolonialism", Father de Soras cites some passages from Folliet which are excellent illustrations of this colonialist mentality:

> "In the eyes of the white man, the indigenous colonials were in a state of hopeless inferiority, from the fact of their race and their civilization. From the intellectual point of view, they were grown-up children whom it was necessary to treat as perpetual minors incapable of ever thinking intelligently and governing themselves. That their plastic and musical arts, their literature, if they had one, their religious or social traditions did not seem attractive was either because they were without value or because they were vestiges of an epoch formerly brilliant but now decadent, or evidence of the existence of an infinitesmal elite with no relation to the masses...."
>
> "From the moral point of view, the natives were less than nothing: they were vicious (polygamous, homosexual), spiteful, wicked, vindictive, lying, cheating, lazy, with only rare exceptions.... And let no one say that the natives seem guileful because we do not understand them: they are that way by nature. Or that they have their vices, we ours, and that we only have a relative superiority: this superiority is absolute, for, between them and us, there is more than a difference of degree, there is a difference of being. Therefore the ruling class will mistrust the coloured people. One has indeed the right to mistrust someone who is worthless."

These racial theories were embodied in the behaviour of many Europeans of this period, and especially in their administrative methods of which the principal one, according to Folliet, was as follows:

> "One guarded oneself carefully from all sentimental weakness toward the colonial subjects. From the legal point of view, they were to be governed by special codes -- the codes of the native -- adapted to his primitive mentality, his weaknesses, his prejudices. Let the employer not fear corporal punishment, the only penalty that the native understands and that has an effect on him. In social relations, the

superiority of the colonizers should be maintained.... A worker or functionary from the mother country should be paid better than his native colleagues.... This distinction and separation should hold even in the routine of daily life: to each race its own restaurants, cafés, hotels, bath, places on the trams, railroad cars, ships, theaters, cinemas, even its own section or town. No infringement by the colonial subject should be permitted and, if necessary, he should be put in his place with well-placed kicks. Between the two societies there should be as little association as possible. Even with natives who are eminent, rich, and cultivated, such intercourse would be inadvisable; it should be limited to the unavoidable contacts of official ceremonies. A man who frequents the society of natives declasses himself, exposes himself to general mistrust, is regarded as a black sheep, a traitor, at the very least as a deviant and an eccentric".

In the economic sphere, the same theories characterized the colonial era: trade was for the profit of the mother country or its big companies. It was the system called the "Colonial Pact" which by definition consisted of "milking the colonial territories" (de Soras).

Similarly, the repressive police methods employed were inspired by the same colonialist mentality. All attempts to ease the yoke, to relax subjection, to seek an improvement in social and human conditions were to be censured without pity. It again was Folliet who said:

"Every conspiracy, every uprising, every revolt must be exposed by trickery, broken up by force and severely repressed, because such examples must inspire a healthy terror in the mob. Permit no foolish clemency which would seem, to the limited minds of the natives, a sign of weakness or negligence. Never yield to any political or social claims of the natives: one concession granted, they would ask for more. Only give in when there is really no way of resisting further. Indeed, every concession will seem to have been extracted by fear.... A perpetual minor, the native will not take part in any way in the political management of his interests, leaving this to the foreigner, with no claims or checks possible. Besides, is not the foreigner better informed about the needs of the native than the native himself?"

These quotations from J. Folliet, borrowed from Father de Soras, depict very accurately the atmosphere which characterized this colonial era.

Certainly, these theories were not applied everywhere to the letter, by all white men and with the same severity. Also, there were doubtless differences among the various territories and colonial powers. It can also be demonstrated, of course, that the colonial era, in spite of the infinite condemnations one can make of it, has to its credit nonetheless a series of achievements on different levels which undoubtedly played a beneficial part in the evolution of Africa.

Nevertheless, we have here put our finger on the fundamental principles which to some extent have characterized the general behaviour of the white men toward the black. And in a nutshell, without further details, they explain many of the movements, facts, and experiences a number of us knew and lived through up to the eve of the second world war.

The War and Postwar Period

The decisive role of wars in the evolution of peoples is a commonly established fact.

To Africa and colonial peoples in general the last war brought a complete upheaval which led to their emancipation or liberation. And, if I may make a somewhat cruel confession, if I had not been restrained by a certain feeling of shame, I would have been tempted to write a study entitled: "Adolf Hitler, Benefactor and Liberator of the Colonial Peoples", not from any admiration of the dictator whom we fought and destroyed, but to call attention to the upheavals that were direct results of the conflict he let loose. For no one can say what the colonies of Africa, Asia and Oceania would be like today if Poland had not been invaded on September 1, 1939, by Nazi troops. What can be affirmed, bearing in mind the theories prevailing at that time, is that in the best of circumstances the colonies would have taken at least a century to achieve the stage which most of them reached in an average of ten years.

This war and post-war period, from 1939 to 1946, was characterized by a phenomenon of far-reaching effect: the political awakening and the development of political consciousness of the colonial peoples.

If we take the Cameroons as an example, we see that this phenomenon has been characterized by three essential factors:

1. The participation of coloured men in the war.
2. The establishment and growth of the trade unions.
3. The political institutions established in 1946.

The part played by the colonial nationals in the war effort, on the field of battle as well as in production activities at the rear, was unquestionably the first sign of our political awakening.

It is true that black and yellow troops also took part in great numbers in the world war of 1914-18, but the two situations are not at all comparable. While in the earlier war the European mother countries remained untouched or only partially occupied, this time the whole of western Europe, with the exception of Great Britain and the Iberian peninsula, was invaded and conquered by Hitler. Still more serious, the invasion was not limited to military occupation and the economic pillage which followed. It set in motion a crisis of conscience which put what is called Western civilization in danger.

It was then that the blacks emerged from the bush, often with bare feet, to enroll themselves voluntarily in the Free French troops of General de Gaulle. They marched side by side with their white masters. They saw them suffer from hunger and thirst like themselves, wounded or killed like themselves. They crossed lands inhabited by other white men and realized that there were also, as among the blacks, white men who were wretched and poverty-stricken. They were welcomed with open arms by French families and wondered if this was really the same white race they had seen represented in the colonies.

But above all, they had the feeling of being the liberators of their masters who had in turn been dominated by other masters, and nothing could take this feeling away from them. These black men, illiterate and untutored,

full of an ingrained inferiority complex, came back three or four years later transformed, taught by experience, rid of their inferiority complex, regarding their former masters certainly not as equals but simply as men more privileged than the blacks, but nonetheless just as much men. They did not stir up revolt or secession in the villages, but they told their astounded brothers what they had seen and done, demonstrating conclusively that men are the same all over the world.

Thus, and often without intending to do so, the former combatants contributed greatly to the development of a political consciousness and the political awakening of their compatriots.

A similar evolution was caused by the establishment and activities of the trade unions. Forced labour was abolished at the end of the war. The black worker knew henceforth that if he had obligations he also had rights. He knew that he was protected by the laws, that he could make wage demands, that he could go on strike, that (in certain cases) he could legally attack his master etc. Thus little by little the barrier long maintained between employer and employee, which had imposed the right to speak on one side and silence on the other, which never permitted any possibility of discussion or compromise, broke down. The strike of 1945, of sad memory, which barely escaped turning into a riot, showed those who would never have dreamed of such a thing five years before that the people had become self-conscious and had awakened from their lethargy.

Finally, in the political institutions and reforms that were effected after the war, we see the third factor that brought about the political awakening of our country. Like forced labour, the Native Code was abolished. There was the Conference of Brazzaville in 1944. Beginning in 1945 there were elections, with the right to vote given at first only to a few, then gradually to a greater and greater number until there was really universal suffrage. There was the vote for the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, the creation of a "French Union", certainly imperfect and debatable, but which marked sure progress on the road. For the people of the Cameroons, there was San Francisco, the United Nations, the protective agreements which should ultimately lead to the independence of their country.

Thus with the simultaneous interplay of the three factors outlined above, and of others of lesser interest, the political awakening of Africa was a reality by the end of the second world war. Henceforth, new ways were open in our march toward destiny.

The Present and the Outlook for the Future

We shall say only a few words about the present, which is still in evolution, and we shall not anticipate too much the future. This current period has already lasted ten years. It dates from the end of 1946, when the institutions set forth in the French Constitution were established. Up to now, our country has been living through what might be called birth pains, while adapting itself to a new political life and undergoing an apprenticeship in democracy. Certainly this "stage" is still far from over. But one cannot deny the rapid political evolution achieved in the last few years, especially in the Cameroons. This evolution has certainly not taken place without injury or shock. The French Union, as the instrument of French relations with its territories overseas, is not always in harmony with all its participants. Indochina has broken away at the cost of eight years of bloodshed. Morocco and Tunisia are no longer French protectorates but independent states.

Algeria is aroused and impatient to complete the North African trio. The revolt in Madagascar has been put down but the island remains nationalistic and sullen. The Cameroons are nationalistic, too. They submit to the Framework law (loi-cadre) they did not want. They have been promised the status of a state (under protection) with ministers, anthem and flag, but their people remain sceptical and reserved, hoping for something better. Expecting eventual bloodshed, men and women are constantly anxious and whatever may be said, calm does not reign.

But nevertheless all this does not keep the process of evolution from taking place. The last Congress of Bamako in French West Africa surprised the whole world by the earnestness of its members and the realism of its final motion. If everyone is in good faith, it remains only to construct authentic African states in the full meaning of the term in order to put on its feet, a few years from now, that "commonwealth" of French culture of which we have dreamed since the end of the war, and of which the French Union has been only a poor caricature.

The Responsibility of the Churches

In my opinion, the responsibility of the churches towards this awakening and evolution of the African peoples is of primary importance.

As a Baptist and a Christian, I am certainly not one of those who systematically disparage the immense work accomplished by the Protestant and Catholic churches in the form of missionary activity in our country.

But if we glance backward at the colonial past, we shall see that the churches have not always fully assumed the heavy responsibility incumbent on them for the moral and political evolution of the country they were evangelizing.

Originally, the principal objective of Christian missions in the non-European countries was to fight slavery by on-the-spot evangelization, to teach the pagans the meaning of the human dignity and liberty acquired through the grace of Christ. But when colonialization came to take the place of the slave trade, achieving in another form the enslavement of man, the Church certainly failed in its mission by showing a certain weakness in regard to the most powerful.

Many missionaries never preached to white businessmen and administrators with the same severity with which they addressed the natives. They often demanded that the faithful blacks endure, in the name of Christ, the abusive treatment inflicted by the colonizers, without, on the other hand, urging the latter to live and behave as real Christians toward those whom it was their mission to educate and emancipate. The natives were often shocked to observe that he whom everyone called "the bad white" because of his brutality with the blacks or his behaviour toward his employees, was the friend of the priest or pastor.

The explanation of such weaknesses can be found in the fact that the missionaries were usually nationals of the colonizing country and it was not always easy for them to act as judges. Thus, without their really wishing to do so, they tolerated a colonial policy condemned by Christian doctrine. At the same time, as directors of certain missions, they could not defy the government of their own country. One famous exception, among others, was Livingstone who was not afraid to defy Queen Victoria.

In the period which followed the last world war, if the Protestant churches have in general taken a neutral attitude toward the political problems of Africa, a number of persons in the Catholic Church have not hesitated to take a stand, sometimes not without risk, on one issue or another. Thus the Bishops of Madagascar declared in December, 1953:

> "We recognize the legitimacy of aspirations to independence as well as all efforts being made to achieve it. The Church earnestly desires that individuals as well as peoples shall assume ever more fully their responsibilities (the greatness of man derives from his being free and responsible); and political freedom is one of these fundamental liberties and responsibilities. When it is not enjoyed, this indicates an evolution only partially accomplished, a state of affairs which can only be temporary".

Similarly, the Bishops of French West Africa, Togoland, Tanganyika, the Ivory Coast and the Cameroons have also defined their positions in open letters or declarations. Finally, a Cameroonian priest, Abbé Jean Zoa, has just published an excellent study called "Toward a Christian Nationalism in the Cameroons", that we can highly recommend.

For some time now the direction of the Churches has been coming more and more into the hands of our compatriots. On the Catholic side, there has been the nomination of two native bishops, one under the title of the Bishop of Douala. Independence was granted to the French Protestants on March 10, 1957. Soon afterward, on December 11, the American Presbyterian Mission to the Cameroons became the Presbyterian Church of the Cameroons, with full sovereignty.

Thus whereas in the past it has been easy for us to criticize white missionaries and to lump them together with the other colonialists, it is now up to us Africans, as leaders and members of our churches, to define and assume our responsibilities in regard to the political problems of our country.

And this brings us back to the question I posed at the outset: Does a Christian have obligations and a role to play in the political domain? My answer is: Yes, a role and obligations of the first importance.

Some of our compatriots withdraw into an ivory tower of false neutrality, which in reality is nothing but fear of responsibilities, and declare in the immature manner of a precocious child: "I will have nothing to do with politics." What hypocrisy! They are involving themselves in politics by the very fact that they take a political position when they say they will have nothing to do with politics. What is even more serious is that the same people who make such declarations one day will turn informer or make false accusations the next, in the hope of material gain. I have previously pointed out that the missionaries often dealt too lightly with the white administrators and colonizers. But do not our pastors also show their weakness by their complaisance and indulgence toward the powerful and wealthy?

It was Christ himself who entrusted to us the holy mission of playing a political role in the life of our country. In his sermon at Nazareth (Luke 4:18-19), Jesus repeated the words of the prophet Isaiah who said (Isaiah 61:1-2):

"The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, for the Lord has anointed me. He has sent me to bring good news to the lowly, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and relief to the prisoners; to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour and the day of our God's vengeance; to comfort all mourners."

How can one pretend to serve Christ and hold himself apart from a mission so clearly defined? These words cannot be dismissed as pertaining only to the spiritual domain. For Jesus did not limit his ministry to spiritual matters, but was also concerned with: Healing the sick (social service), pardoning sinners (justice), teaching truth (education).

So this is a mission which extends beyond the spiritual domain to include the bodily and material side of the life of men in bondage. Christians, that is to say, the Churches, cannot divest themselves of this mission without running a serious risk.

We often hear of the "communist danger", which is commonly presented as a bugaboo.. Now, in my opinion, the whole strength of communism lies in the fact that it plays, in the material sphere and with practical realism, the part that should be played by the Christian Church:

1. Communism does not stop at condemning colonialism; it fights it energetically at all levels.

2. Communism attacks social inequalities, in the pure Christian tradition.

3. Communism fights want and misery by a more equitable distribution of the community's goods.

Obviously the sincerity of the end envisioned and the methods used are open to question. But this should not obscure the fact that practical results are being achieved which offer a strong temptation to people in distress.

In other words, there is no way to fight Communism except by accomplishing, on the practical everyday level, the mission that Christ has set forth for us.

CONCLUSIONS

A new era has opened for Africa since the end of the last world war. The colonial peoples have definitely become conscious of their value as human beings, and they aspire to freedom from the colonial yoke and to total emancipation.

Faced with this political awakening and an evolution which can no longer be arrested, the Christian Church has a role of the first importance to play and heavy responsibilities to assume.

Treading a path between the will to survival of the past and the attraction of a dynamic communism, the Church must find a satisfactory formula which will allow the African countries to achieve the sovereignty they desire, even while remaining Christian.

The essence of this formula is to be found in the accomplishment of the lofty mission with which we are charged, both white and coloured people, by the very fact of our being Christians.

Recently freed from the guardianship of the mother country, the autonomous churches and their leaders will not be able to remain neutral before the national problem. They are obligated to take a clear position and to contribute to the country's political liberation, without which ecclesiastical independence cannot be fully assured.

The Protestant churches are especially fitted for this, since they stem from the Reformation of Martin Luther. The prophets were ardent nationalists in Israel, and our priests and pastors owe it to them to become true nationalists in their own country. They are the ambassadors of Christ, that is to say, of the Eternal God. But the power and dominion of the lords of the earth have been established by the grace of God. So the ambassadors of God must not tremble before the ministers of temporal power: it is rather the latter who should fear the ministers of Christ.

It will be by taking up anew the nationalist cause, by helping the nationalists in the political struggle, by pursuing and multiplying their achievements in the social and educational spheres that the young African churches will consolidate their position and assure their future survival.

All hesitation, all timidity, all equivocation at this historical turning-point will only leave a free field to those who would exploit our misfortunes for hidden purposes, and throw Christian Africa into the arms of Communism.

II

THE MEANING AND THE NECESSITY OF THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

By
Pastor Roland de Pury

I would like to say first that what concerns us here is not a matter of the Church's adding a social task to her spiritual task, as if preaching the Gospel and acting socially were two separate things. I remind you of the words of Théo Preiss: "When we think of the social task of the Church, let us be careful to avoid the temptation of expecting that the Church should make of its ordinary task something extraordinary. What matters is that it perform its ordinary task with extraordinary faithfulness."

Both the ordinary and the extraordinary task of the Church, the task that includes all the others, is to worship, to preach the Gospel: "In worship, the personal destiny of each man and the collective destiny of his society is involve The social and political action of the Church should be to proclaim the Gospel in all its fullness, the Gospel of the Cross which justifies the whole man, includin man social and man political, man as a citizen and as a person of culture. Let no one say there is anything more to do than to preach Jesus Christ. If the preaching is truly apostolic, then it will also be all these other desirable things. It will make us new men, clothed with Christ, whose presence in the world will be even that of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Let us recall the principal characteristics of this presence:

1) It is a bodily presence: "The Word was made flesh." It is not an ideal and sentimental presence, it is not a dream or theory of a presence, it is a real presence, the presence of the body of the Church in the midst of the body of Society, the presence of our own flesh in the midst of men of flesh. How can we deny the social character of such a presence when the child of God, the Christian, lives in the midst of Society, and is called to render to the men of this Society that which Christ came to render them?

2) Christ appeared as a simple man, assuming the condition of a servant. His presence therefore is one of <u>humility</u> and <u>poverty</u>. Jesus is neither a great man, a rich man, a wise man, a powerful man, a hero, a learned man, nor any of those things which theology has wanted to make of Him. He is not a great man; he is simply a man, exactly as each of us is a man, like the men we meet every day. The Church must never be ashamed to serve this Servant, to have as its Lord this simple Man.

3) This presence, then, is <u>royal</u> and <u>free</u>; it is in this service that He renders us until His last breath that Jesus Christ is absolutely sovereign and absolutely free. He carries his title of King even on the Cross. The Church ashamed of the Cross would be ashamed of the kingship of its Lord, and of his

liberty. Whatever your situation, you are king, you have a perfect liberty, the sovereignty of your Lord. He has made us "kings and priests"(Apocalypse 1); "All is yours and you are Christ's" (1 Corinthians). Every day, to measure your liberty and your kingship in the midst of this world, say to yourself: "I have nothing to lose since I have lost all to my Lord on the Cross, and I have nothing to gain since I have gained everything with Him on Easter morning; I am at once the richest man and the poorest man in the world. Such is the freedom of the Church in Christ.

The Two Temptations of the Church in Society

It is in this condition of kingship and of service that the Church will escape the two temptations which menace it in Society, the sectarian or pietist temptation and the clericalist.

The sectarian temptation is to escape, to take refuge in piety, to flee the responsibilities of the world, to separate so completely the temporal and the spiritual domains that either political, social and cultural problems just are not raised or one pretends to solve them by mouthing words about Love. The pagan State, Nazism in particular, likes nothing better than a Church of this kind.

The clericalist temptation is just the opposite, since it is a confusion of matters temporal and spiritual, whereby the Church tries to utilize the political powers-that-be to make a profit from them, to depend on them, to manipulate the State in order to dominate directly all areas of social life. Spain provides us today with the perfect example of this kind of clericalism. It has been the great failing of the Church since the time of the Emperor Constantine; all the history of the Church in the West has been poisoned by this confusion of the temporal and the spiritual. We must not, under the pretext of political and social responsibility, fall back into that kind of confusion, that is, we must not wish to reconstitute a Christian state, a Christian party, a Christian politics, or even simply to claim for the Church the right to apply a particular legislation, to constitute a canon law, to make a state within a state. All that must be avoided. It is the wrong way of understanding the social and political responsibility of the Church.

Why can't we do such things? Because we are under the cross and not in the glory; because we are a Church of sinners, and when we forget it, when we believe ourselves better than others, when we put ourselves up as judges, as legislators, as reformers, when we wish to play the State, we shall surely accomplish our own destruction. It suffices to study only a little history to realize this. Why, for example, were the monastic communities in the Middle Ages the last to abolish servitude? Why did the Vatican, which should be the model State, ruled only by the law of God, end by requiring all Jews to wear a yellow hat? Even today, in France, the canon law has the power to menace the authority of the State (as in the affair of the Finaly children), and in Protestant countries, in England, in Germany, in Geneva, in the United States, one can also find many examples of a clerical society resulting in suspicion, denunciation, and wholesale purging. It is always an evil that appears in a situation where the Church wishes to be more than the State and to be served by the State.

The incident of the Samaritans (Luke 9:51-56), the parable of the tares (Matthew 13:24-30) and the Sermon on the Mount which reminds us that God makes it rain on both the just and the unjust -- all the great testaments to the power of God condemn clericalism in any form and in my opinion make it obligatory for a Christian to desire a secular state with which the Church can freely take an attitude of co-responsibility.

It is from Barth that I borrow this term, "co-responsibility," to describe the relation of the Christian with the non-Christian in the accomplishment of a joint task. In what respect is this co-responsibility necessary? I reminded you in the beginning that social action was part of the Church's faith in the Incarnation, in the presence of God among men. It also follows that it is a part of the Church's hope, a part of the proclamation of the Kingdom to come. Now when it comes this Kingdom will be truly a state, a city. Certainly the State today is not the Kingdom of God, but it does have, as Barth says, both the capacity to present and the need to receive an image of the Kingdom which the Church proclaims. When the Church heralds "the new heavens and the new earth where justice will dwell," "the holy city which descends from heaven," the State should be such that it is able to provide a situation comparable to these descriptions and have the possibility of becoming a parable of the Kingdom to come. The State has need of the Church, as the Church has need of the State. The Church needs the State to furnish it with an image of that which it proclaims just as the State has need of the Church in order to realize this image.

The Political and Social Calling of the Church

Even so, what is the meaning and the content of this task of the State for which the Church is co-responsible and which must prefigure the Kingdom to come? We have already mentioned the word justice. But what does justice mean from the social point of view? Here the Scriptures give us neither a programme nor a definite political system, but a general orientation, a line of direction. It is not a question here of natural rights but of the law of God as executed by Christ and by the witnesses of Christ. Let us take some biblical examples: Elijah intervening before Achab to defend the rights of Naboth; Nehemiah intervening with vigor against the Israelites who were exploiting their poor brothers; the description of Job and his obedience in chapter 29. As for the cases of Micah, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, they are too well-known and too numerous to cite here. However, I would like to pause long enough to quote the famous lines from Isaiah 58:6-7 which have a social meaning that is particularly outstanding. According to Isaiah it is true worship which pleases God. It is not a matter of wearing a long face, a sad air, a black dress and cultivating small scruples, but of breaking completely all the yokes that bind the oppressed. See also Jeremiah 34:15-17. There is truly a spirit of liberty dominating all these prophetic texts.

Injustice is the only thing that prevents man from being free. To God, it is insupportable that His creature should be alienated from Him. The prophets did not wait for Karl Marx to denounce all forms of alienation-oppression, chains, yokes, reins, hunger, nakedness, cold. We also discover all the texts of Isaiah repeated in Matthew 25. The Church that Jesus redeemed is the price of liberty, since it is the price of the blood of the Lamb. How can a Church liberated at this price bear any kind of slavery? How can a Church justified at this price tolerate unjustice to a single creature? Of course, I do not

intend to confuse the freedom of the children of God with the freedom of citizens of a state, nor Divine justice with human justice. But how is one to separate them? And what meaning does preaching justification and redemption have in a society totally indifferent to justice and liberty?

The political and social responsibility of the Church therefore appears quite clear to me. It is a part of the proclamation of the Kingdom. It is impossible to preach the One who came to die upon the cross and Who will return to establish justice, without at the same time assuming definite responsibilities in Society, without exercising special vigilance as to the manner in which the State fulfills its function of administering justice, and without, in a word, serving as the conscience of the State.

It is not up to the Church to do the work of the State but to keep recalling it to its function of administering justice and to sustain it in this function, which consists of giving to each citizen the freedom of being himself, of defending the poor against the rich, the weak against the strong and even the heretic against the orthodox.

The Church's Concern for All Men

It is essential that when the Church intervenes in Society it should not act for itself. Nothing is more deplorable than churches which are always preoccupied with their own influence and always engaged in claiming the rights which are due them. When the Church intervenes in the social or political spheres, it does so freely -- for others, for the State, for the people. Also, the Church should not act just to claim freedom for Christians, but for all men. Not its own rights, but the rights of all must be defended by the Church. An injustice committed toward a pagan should disturb the Church as much as an injustice committed toward a believer. (I recall here the Dreyfus Affair and the trial of Rayk in Hungary as examples where it did not appear to me that the Church fulfilled its duty in Society. In contrast, we saw in Germany in 1934 how a Church, the Lutheran Church, roused itself to its political and social responsibility.)

Surely, the Church will always claim for itself the freedom of proclaiming the Gospel, realizing quite correctly that that freedom is the condition of all others, the freedom, that is, for all to say yes or no to Jesus Christ. This is a freedom of conscience which can only be effectively guaranteed by a lay State and we do not mean here just freedom of worship but even the complete freedom to pass from one religion to another, from one confession to another, or to have no religion at all without any stigma whatever attaching in any domain of social life.

It is thus that the Church will claim the equality of all before the law, which means the resolute and absolute denial of religious or racial discrimination. There again it is by the Church's example, it is to the degree that the Church transcends all kinds of race prejudice, that it will be able to make this claim.

Here we should bring up the whole matter of the status of women and their elevation to a personal existence which can only be effected by the work of the

Gospel and which should be the work of Christians. It is deplorable to see the Church trailing the State instead of ahead of it in this domain.

The Church will also demand of the State a particular solicitude for the weak, the poor, the sick. In this respect it will encourage the organisation of public health work, social security, labor legislation (at the very least it will be the first in adopting such legislation.) It will act vigorously on the matter of alcoholism.

The commandment of love for one's neighbour which sums up all the prophets' commandments applies not only to individual relationships. It also is charged with social applications. "Welcome into your homes the unfortunate who have no shelter" means a public housing policy. "Share your bread with the hungry" means economic planning and concern with all rural and industrial problems. In order that all men today may have the freedom to eat, that is, to live, it is not just a question of programmes of social work. Only the socialisation of the means of production, the redistribution of resources and the planning of production on a worldwide scale will bring an end to the world's hunger.

The Integrity of the Christian

But we are also involved in particular responsibilities in the area of family life and that of birth control. How in all this can the Church not feel co-responsible with the State? How can it have nothing to say? I will add, in this matter of daily bread, at a time when young States like yours are battling with great financial difficulties, that Christians who occupy important political positions have a special witness to make, not only through absolute integrity in the conduct of their office but also through the sobriety and modes of their manner of living. It is necessary to be vigilant that the exercise of power, for Christians at least, shall remain free of any suspicion of ambition or personal interest and truly be the place where they serve their Lord, in serving their State and their people with disinterested competence.

In this respect, also, the professional responsibility of each Christian is a part of the general social responsibility of the Church. In a time when your country has such need for technicians, workmen, teachers, and doctors, it is necessary to know and to repeat that the first virtue of a Christian electrician is to be a good electrician, of a Christian doctor to be a good doctor, and so forth. A bad workman not only does no service to his country, bu also gives no witness to Jesus Christ. On the contrary, professional competence and conscience open the door to such a witness. Here is a very simple aspect of the social responsibility of the Church.

If it is difficult to define the political and social frontier, on one hand, it is just as difficult to define the social and cultural frontier. I mean that the social responsibility of the Church also implies a cultural responsibility, because the bread men need is not only that of the baker, in addition to housing and clothing, but it is also the bread of the intelligence, the heart and the soul, and nourishment for the eyes and the ears.

He who furnishes the fruits of the earth, the wine of Canaan (Numbers 14) is not only the vintager, but also the poet, the sculptor, the musician, the

painter. In this domain, also, the faith and experience of the Church should be engaged in a policy of co-responsibility. It should claim for all the joys and richness of culture, defend the freedom of culture, not remain indifferent to cultural crimes nor commit them itself. The Church should give an example of taste and beauty in its buildings, music and literature, and engage in the fight to safeguard the authentic and traditional cultural values of the people.

Does one fear paganism on this last score? One does not need to, because everything is Christ's. If culture is religious, it should be utilized, given its just place as culture under the Kingship of Jesus Christ and in the perspective of the Kingdom. It is necessary to transform pagan temples into museums, as the Communists try to do with churches.

Remember the great promise of the Apocalypse, Chapter 21: the great opening of the new Jerusalem on all the cultures of the world. Through its dozen gates, open day and night, will be led the glory and the power of nations, and with them the glory and the power of the Cameroons, too.

It is hard for me to see how the Church can be faithful to the hope it offers, the hope of this great concourse of the glory of the nations in the glory of the New Jerusalem, unless it takes its part in cultural responsibility, too, and unless it seeks not only the bounty but also the beauty of all that it offers to God.

The Gospel as the "Politics" of the Church

Nevertheless I would like to put you on your guard against ending up by making the Christian message too political. The politics of the Church, to repeat, are simply to proclaim the Gospel. It is enough for you to explain faithfully and thoroughly the biblical witness in your preaching, catechizing, cure of souls and spiritual direction. It is enough that the Church takes its message to the serious-minded, to have it reap a political and social harvest beyond all foreseeing. After all, the way in which Paul treated the fugitive slave Onesimus and wrote to Philemon about him has done more to abolish slavery than all kinds of programmes and proclamations. But if this letter on slavery had not resulted in anti-slavery legislation, it would not have been heard in the perspective of the Kingdom of God.

I have done nothing here except to bring you some matters to discuss and think about, and try to direct your attention toward the importance of the inquiry of the World Council of Churches into the social role of the Church. I have brought up before you only some of the points that its pamphlet calls attention to. I urge you earnestly to read it and study it. It is very useful and will give you some practical hints on how one can exercise this social responsibility of the Church in different areas.

On every page it deals with problems that trouble the peoples of the whole world and interest the churches of the whole world. In taking part in this inquiry and this study you are particularly in communion with the universal Church, the Church that seeks everywhere on earth to proclaim the Kingdom of God in all its fullness.

III.

REPORT ON THE ALL-AFRICA CHURCH CONFERENCE AT IBADAN, NIGERIA

by Philip Potter

I am very happy to pass on to you some of the significant things which happened at the Ibadan Conference, and perhaps to indicate ways in which they are of importance for us in our deliberations here and for our work in our several countries.

We may first consider the convictions which led to the holding of this conference -- the first interconfessional meeting on a continental basis when Africans came together to discuss the vital issues which affect them now and to do so in the context of the Church.

The first of these convictions was the fact that there is a Church in Africa - a Church which has been planted there, the work of missions and of Africans for over a hundred years. Indeed, the growth of the Church in Africa has been far more rapid than in, say, Asia. It is estimated that the Christian community in Africa constitutes about 14% of the population, which is higher than that of Asia.

The second factor is the vast cultural, economic and political changes taking place among the peoples of Africa, and which are the subject of agonising discussion all over the continent.

Thirdly, there is the longing to be together and to learn of each other. Africans are great travellers, and many traders and workers move great distances during their lives. But it must be admitted that there has been little coming together of the different peoples of Africa. The error is often made of thinking that because Africans are more or less of the same colour they are one people. But Africa is a continent of very different races, or ethnic groups if you like, living side by side, but living in different compartments, and yet undergoing changes which are so similar that they are bound to seek a common understanding of who they are, of their similarities and their differences. Furthermore, there has been the sickening fallacy among missionaries and other foreigners that they "know" the African. This has often been used as an excuse for maintaining attitudes of paternalism and imperialism. The Mau Mau uprising and other recent events may have shaken their over-confidence. After all, the teacher or the master cannot claim to know the pupil or servant while he maintains his self-imposed attitude as teacher or master.

Above all, there was the conviction that what is happening in Africa today is not only the work of man, but that God is truly present and active in it. It was therefore the responsibility of Christians to discover what God is doing and what He expects of His people in carrying out His purpose for Africa.

Over twenty countries were represented at the Conference. The only important section of Africa which was not represented was the North - Egypt and the North West. We were about 200, with some 60% Africans (i.e. negro Africans, for there were a number of white Africans present). The rest

comprised missionaries working in Africa, mission board secretaries, representatives of some ecumenical bodies, and visitors from Asia, Europe and North America. The official languages were English and French, with Portuguese as a third. Incidentally, the fact of having to communicate in two official languages, not to speak of Portuguese, is another factor which distinguished this conference from ecumenical meetings in Asia, where the official language is English only.

The theme of the conference was "The Church in Changing Africa". This was treated in two ways - a series of Bible studies on the Church, and a consideration of various aspects of changing Africa and the Church in it. The Bible study was considered to be perhaps the most solid and important part of the conference, no doubt because it represented a confrontation of the actual situation of Africans with the living Word of God. As such it was a departure from the usual pietistic homilies which are extracted from the Bible. The conference divided into five groups to discuss "The Church and Family Life and Youth", "The Church and Economic Life", "The Church and Political Life", "The Church and Culture and Religions", and "The Growing Church" (including Stewardship, the relation of Church and mission, the Ministry and Church unity). The discussions were preceded by a series of very helpful papers by both Africans and non-Africans.

It is noteworthy that the Africans themselves elected, in large measure, to be in the first three groups. It has been explained that this was so because the papers on the first three subjects were good and lively, and that group choices had to be made before the papers on the last two subjects were properly heard. After several conversations with Africans, however, I am quite convinced that they quite deliberately chose these groups precisely because they were concerned with the burning issues of the hour, and issues on which the Church has given little constructive guidance in the past. Indeed, it might justly be said that unless Christians grapple with the baffling social, economic and political problems being thrashed out in Africa today, then the accusation that Christianity is a Western affair will have been proved to be justified and the Church in Africa will be reduced to impotent irrelevance. This places a great responsibility upon the Church throughout the world, and particularly upon movements like the YMCA, which are seeking to bring the resources of thought and action of the whole Church to the aid of the African in his agonising quest. This has a further implication: At Ibadan the Africans heard for the first time, in any concerted way, what the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches are actually doing. The reports, for instance, on the Rapid Social Change studies being carried on in Africa, and on the consultation sponsored by the Department on the Cooperation of Men and Women in Church and Society on Marriage and Family Life in Africa, and the Ecumenical Work Camps sponsored by the WCC Youth Department, impressed the Africans that the ecumenical bodies were interested in precisely the matters which are their main concern now. This means that the statements made, for example, by a number of people, at the IMC Assembly in Ghana, that Africa was not yet ready for the kind of relationship involved in a merger of the IMC and WCC, does not apply to Africans themselves, but to many who are working in Africa. One hopes that these folk will not continue to delude themselves for long as to the real issues facing the Church and mission in Africa today.

The discussion on Marriage and Family Life was extremely lively, all the more so as there was a group of very able and vocal African ladies, who had

immediately prior to the conference held a consultation on the subject. They faced realistically the vexing question of polygamy. While they agreed that the Christian form of life together was monogamous, they appealed to the Chur to re-examine its negative practices with regard to those who come into the Faith out of a polygamous society. It challenged such practices as female circumcision, the "bride price" (as it has developed), the ill-treatment of widows, and prolonged sexual taboo during lactation. It recommended more preparation and guidance for Christian marriage, the training of ministers and catechists in family questions, more widespread discussion of these problems by groups of men and women together, better housing, more family devotional aids, etc. Tribute was paid to the remarkable strength, resilienc and patience of women in African society, and of the need for the men, even Christian men, to appreciate the role of women at home and in society, and to take their place beside them as partners, rather than as masters. Dr. and Mrs. David Mace of the IMC will spend six months in Africa next year to further these discussions.

Much time was spent, in a sub-group, assessing the youth work of the churches. The importance and lack of leadership was stressed, as well as the failure of the churches in helping their young people to take their place in a bewilderingly fluid society in which they are so quickly engulfed. The work so far done is modelled on Western patterns, and while useful, it does not go deep enough because, through lack of indigenous leadership, new patterns have not been found. Here is a task for ecclesiastically footloose movements like the YMCA, YWCA, and SCM, though they themselves must beware of transporting their own hallowed patterns into Africa!

The group on economic life touched on some vital problems - land ownersh resettlement, migrant labour, industrialisation, housing, minimum wages, trade union activities, pensions, detribalisation, soil erosion, etc. The problem of land ownership is particularly acute in East Africa where Africans have been dispossessed. There is a saying that the African loves the land as he loves his wife. There is a profound attachment to the soil. It appear to the African that the history of Western man in Africa has been a history of dispossession. I have even heard it said that Africans feel that they are in a state of war with the invading white man. His country is as "occupi as European countries were occupied by the Germans during the war. At the end of a heated discussion, it was resolved to ask the WCC to conduct a study to ascertain what the real situation is as regards the land question. For dispossession has been practised not only by the white man, but also by the African himself against his brother African.

In the discussion on industrialisation and all the problems which it has thrown up, the group declared that there is need for a new understanding of man in Africa. This is particularly necessary because in the contact of the West with Africa the image of God in man has been marred and broken on both sides, and there are parts of Africa where the full image of God seems to be denied to the African. In those parts of the continent where Africans are entering into self government this need is all the more urgent. With the Christian understanding of man must be coupled a new conception of responsible citizenship in Africa. The group appealed to the churches to extend their ministry in a more meaningful way to people caught in the maelstrom of economic change.

The debate on politics was certainly one of the most exciting in the confe

This was encouraged by a pungent speech by Alan Paton (see page 25). (In this conference one did not feel that there was conflict between white and coloured participants. Although some claim that there were far too many non-Africans, it is true to say that there was a genuing feeling of a common search - surely a happy augury for the Church in Africa). The conference finally emerged with two appeals - one addressed to the churches and the other to the world. In the former, the Church was urged to exercise its prophetic ministry of seeking and declaring the will and purpose of God in the clamant problems of society. It also has an educational function, that of helping its members to responsible citizenship. Further it has a pastoral function of ministering to those members involved in the business of politics, not just writing them off as meddling in something called "dirty", but rather strengthening them as they are caught in the struggle for a better life for their people. Pastors were exhorted to surrender their charges if they decided to enter into party politics because of the fact that a congregation comprises different political tendencies. Unfortunately this last exhortation was badly misrepresented in the press. The document ended by reminding the churches that they will not be able to carry out these functions if they remain denominationally, racially and socially divided.

A well documented paper was presented on the indigenisation of worship, which was another subject of discussion. Among other things it showed conclusively how unfortunate has been the practice of singing hymns translated in African languages to European tunes. West African languages are tonal and therefore carry their own rhythms which demand special music. One night we had a demonstration of the talking drums which reminded us that in Africa there are rich musical treasures waiting to be brought to Christ. Unfortunately this discussion was not pursued very far because few Africans were seriously involved in it.

Islam also claimed the attention of this group. Islam is especially attractive in some parts of Africa because of its apparently simple direct creed and its accommodation to traditional modes of society. The group tried to mark out various lines of approach to Islam. But here again one had the feeling that Islam has not yet been considered by many Africans as a threat or serious rival. There seems to be a tendency toward religious co-existence if not accommodation. But I may be wrong here.

Under the general heading of the growing Church, such matters as Stewardship, the Ministry, the relation of Church and Ministry and the problems of Church Unity were dealt with, I felt, rather inadequately.

One might well ask why there has not been more sustained African thinking on the vital subjects of indigenisation of worship, Islam and the life and ministry of the Church. It strikes me that one reason for this is that generally these matters have been the concern of missionaries who have held the leadership of the Church. Perhaps the Africans, with some justice, feel that whatever they might think on these questions, power lies in other hands. If so, this is an unhappy situation, for sooner rather than later they will be thrust more and more into leadership, and they cannot shun the issues dealing with the life and growth of the Church.

Similarly one might ask why it was that the evangelistic task of the Church did not receive central attention. It would be taking a narrow view not to see the evangelistic dimensions of the subjects dealt with in the sections on social, economic and political questions. However, one only hopes

that it is not assumed that the evangelistic task is carried out by the mission while the Church fumbles with other things. We may take comfort from the fact that this appeared to be the process in Asia. In Bangkok, 1949, the emphasis was precisely on the social and political revolution going on in Asia at that critical point in its history, while at Prapat in 1957, the central theme was the evangelistic task of the Church in Asia. Our prayer, therefore, must be that all who are involved in the life of the Church in Africa will quickly see their task in its full dimensions and bend their wills and hands in a true partnership in obedience in the name of the God and Saviour of Africa.

IV.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE CHURCH

With particular reference to the Conditions in British Central Africa

By Henry F. Makulu

The exploitation of Africa's rich natural resources has brought with it many human problems, and all these problems seem to be rooted in the problem of rapid social change. Everywhere in Africa new societies are evolving, societies with new patterns, new attitudes, new controls and new values; everywhere tribal life has disintegrated or is in the process of disintegration, old social bonds are giving way to new social groupings. Communities which have hitherto lived in the simple ways of village life find themselves forced into new patterns of social life and social order. The village with its characteristic bustle of community life and social cohesion has lost its hold on the minds of the new generation. The shift is from the village to the new industrial centers and the tribal fabric seems to have been destroyed. But even if tribal cultures are destroyed, men and women still remain and the Church has a mission to fulfil and a duty to these uprooted people, to give them hope and to assure them of God's redeeming love.

One can generalize about the problem of the effect of industrialization without really understanding its extent and intensity, unless one's observations are related to some specific area. It is in this belief that I have confined this study to the conditions obtaining in British Central Africa in general and the Northern Rhodesia copper mining industries in particular. Not only do I have some knowledge of this area but also this area seems to typify the industrialization and rapid social change taking place in many parts of Africa. In the copper mining centers of Central Africa, industrialization, urbanization, i.e. general rapid social change, is taking place before our eyes. And the Church here is just beginning to realize that a challenge exists and that it must seek to understand its role in this new social order.

Northern Rhodesia is the third greatest copper producing country in the world; it produces more copper than all other countries of the world except the U.S.A., Chile, Canada and Belgian Congo. It has attracted a labour force of nearly 50,000 and copper sales amount to 116 million pounds. There are also numerous secondary industries all over the country, but most of them are centered around the copper mining industries. The mining industries together with other secondary industries have drawn hundreds of thousands of workers from the villages who are massed into compounds and townships. At first they were brought in to work for a limited period, returning home in time for cultivation, but later these industries were faced with the problem of settled and detribalized workers who did not wish to return to the villages and urbanization gradually set in. This has brought with it problems of adjustment and change.

Problem of Adjustment

In all our industries in many parts of Africa the labour force is drawn

from the villages. Men are recruited in large numbers, they leave their villages and many never return there. This means that family life is broken up for most people. When they come to the industrial centers, conditions are different; men are huddled together in single rooms under conditions which are not conducive to private life and self-respect. This exposes them to the evils of industrial environment, they soon find it difficult to keep up to the village standards and often fall prey to the machinations of evil men and women. For many this is the end of ordered and respectable family life. This leads to the common temporary marriages, prostitution and licentiousness characteristic of our industrial compounds. Even where accommodation makes it possible for family life, the problem of adjustment is a real one.

For many years Africans have lived in communities in which the idea of individualism could not prevail, communities in which one belongs not only to a family but to a clan and to the tribe. Thus there was a cohesive social organization in which kinship relationships played a very important part. In many African tribes the reckoning of relationship is based on what anthropologists call "the classificatory system". This lumps together all the men and all the women of the clan as "brothers" and "sisters" of each other. This explains the confusion and disillusionment in the minds of the newcomers to the industrial areas. They find themselves thrust among people of different tribes, different languages and different customs. The neighbour is no longer a relative in some way or other as in the village, but merely a person living in such-and-such a house. The whole situation is foreign, the ideas and usages are completely new and the confusion may lead to maladjustment. The tribal fellowship with its strengthening influences no longer exists. A few, however, adjust to this situation and find new fellowships in new social groupings and in the fellowship of the Church. This is why the fellowship of the Church must be made stronger and more effective in the new industrial areas, for there will be many people who will find in them new and deeper relationships than those of the tribe or the village.

The Problem of Social Interaction and Tension

Many of the social problems of the urban areas arise from defective family life and the change in the social setup. There is no longer the family solidarity of the village, it is undermined by the new spirit of individualism. Consequently there have arisen the problems of delinquency, crime, prostitution, gambling and drunkenness. These are symptoms of a sick society. Thus, although industrialization has brought tremendous benefits to the African, it has nevertheless brought in its train these degenerating effects.

Again, there are other aspects of the social problems of our new societies. These are the problems which arise from the interaction of peoples of different cultures and backgrounds, among them the problem of the tension which results from this interaction. When cultures meet there is always tension and in some cases this may culminate in a clash. This is what is happening in the new industrial centers where people of different cultures find themselves forced to live together because the only thing they have in common is the pursuit of economic advantage. (At least at first). Because this level is so low, there cannot be any cooperation and understanding; it only gives rise to exploitation by those who have the ability, the technique and capital. This in turn leads to mistrust, hate and suspicion, creating

an atmosphere of tension. In Central Africa, for instance, the worsening of race relations seems to be a feature of the urban more than the rural areas. This, too, is an indication of a sick society and this is why the Church should be expected to proclaim its prophetic word without fear or favour.

In this matter of race relations, Central Africa has both an opportunity as well as a challenge. A pattern of a harmonious multi-racial society could be worked out and this might well supply the answer to this vexed problem. I am convinced that this is only possible if the Church is willing to take the lead and to give guidance. Consequently the Church in Central Africa has a tremendous responsibility and a privilege. But it has to act quickly if it is to catch the current in time.

Implications of the Change in Economic Status of the African and the Witness of the Church in the New Social Order

The change from a subsistence economy to a money economy has also brought problems of adjustment in customs, consumption, manners and in patterns of behaviour as well as a new conception of relationships. Many detribalized Africans are unable to make reasonable and right use of their earnings. There is a trend in the direction of materialism, breeding selfishness and greed. This spirit reflects strongly the lack of the sense of stewardship in the Church in our country. There has grown up an unfortunate impression among many African Church people that it is the duty of the mission societies to advance the Church in Africa. Perhaps the past history of the coming of the Church to Africa is responsible for this state of affairs. Whatever the cause, our concern is to see that the Church in Africa stands on its own feet.

If there is anything needed, and needed urgently, it is the training of the members of the young Churches in Africa in the business of the support of the Church. Quite apart from the need to help the African in his support of the Church, the Church should also give practical teaching on stewardship and its implications for man's use of God's gifts, as well as teaching on the Christian's witness in society and in his social and political groups. In the industrialized communities the Church must of necessity encounter many forms of challenge as there are many problems arising from people's interaction in their quest for economic, political and social places in the community. There are many issues in all these fields in which the Church's opinion is sought. The position is sometimes such that the Church cannot any longer maintain its "interested neutrality". It is true that the Church must not be a party to any one political or social ideology but it is also true that it is the duty of the Church to sound the trumpet, that is, to speak the prophetic word without any compromise to warn men of the dangerous direction in which society is moving.

The Mission of the Church in the New Social Order

There seems to be convincing evidence that the mission of the Church is still relevant to the new social situation. But this requires a change in the conception of "mission". In the new communities of the towns and industrial areas, this means that the Church must seek new forms of mission outreach suited to the changed conditions of the people among whom the Church is to witness. In the simple rural community the mission has nurtured the young Church on the simple catechetical instructions. There is need now in the new developing communities for the "teaching mission" and for the

Christian teaching to be relevant to the lives of the people. There is also need for realistic planning of the Church's programme directed towards the orientation and strengthening of family life. The Church has spiritual insights which can be brought into the people's welfare programmes. The mining companies and the local governments in our country have been doing a magnificient work in providing their workers with welfare services, but this kind of work requires more than money and personnel. This is why the cooperation which exists between the mission societies and the mines in the planning and execution of welfare programmes is a welcome feature.

There are still more ways in which the Church can fulfil its mission in this complex situation. It can help in this situation by throwing light on the problems facing the community. If the Church can help men to understand the problems facing them, half the battle would be won. Men and women are so engrossed in their day to day tasks that they can hardly see the problem in its right perspective. It is important that the Church should understand the issues of the day in order to be able to speak with authority. This means that there must be some form of research into the problems confronting the young Church.

This is one of the reasons why we are all looking forward with anticipation to the forthcoming I.M.C. Study of the Life and Growth of the Younger Churches and the World Council of Churches' Study on Areas of Rapid Social Change. We hope that these studies will stimulate interest and concern in the local Church leaders. We also hope the latter study will in some way or other work in conjunction with our vision here in Northern Rhodesia to establish an Ecumenical research and Conference Center which would greatly facilitate future researches and studies. These studies, I am sure, will remind us here how the ecumenical Church is mindful of its task of fostering the spirit of concern for others.

These then are the ways in which the Church interacts with industrialization. The Church has tremendous responsibilities in giving direction to the currents of industrialization in the African society. It can leave an imprint on the new social order which could justify its being called a "responsible Christian Society". It is our hope that the younger Church will develop and not be hindered by the environment in which it is set. The Church should act as a leaven in the society and should rise to its responsibility of lifting men above mere material things. The Church's influence should permeate all aspects of the new society until, as in the words of Revelation, "THE KINGDOM OF THE WORLD IS BECOME THE KINGDOM OF OUR LORD, AND OF HIS CHRIST : AND HE SHALL REIGN FOR EVER AND EVER."

V.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIAN TOWARD THE STATE

By Alan Paton

An address given at the All-Africa Church Conference, January, 1958

My task here today is to consider the attitude of the Church and the Christian toward the State. We African Christians, in common with all Christians, are living in an era when the State seems to be extending its authority over more and more of the affairs of men and women. Secondly, we are living in our own African era, too, in which the States of our continent are being reborn, an era of far-reaching and often painful change.

It is often said that the complexity of modern life is one of the reasons for the extension of the authority of the modern state. This is partly true. It is also partly true that the awakening of hundreds of millions of human beings from a period of subordination has meant that the new governments of those hundreds of millions want to govern strongly, quickly and drastically; and that to do this they must exercise greater and greater authority over the lives of those who have just been freed. But there is a third reason, too, which is of importance to us here. This is that there has been a weakening of the belief in a spiritual order sustained by God and the belief that man, having been created by God, has a meaning and a destiny. And when this belief weakens, there is no authority left but man's own and, even though he does not know what he is doing, he exchanges the sovereignty of God for the sovereignty of the State and the threat of tyranny.

I am no theologian or philosopher, so I cannot give you a profound and systematically organized address. I am a native of Africa, though a white one. I am a Christian, though falling short of my own standards of what a Christian should be. Because I am a Christian, I am a passionate believer in human freedom and therefore in human rights. This is partly because I myself wish to be free and wish others to be free to pursue what is good, which is theologically unassailable. But I also wish to be free because I am a human being, made in God's image, and therefore not to be ruled by other men except in the interest of the common good, a good which must not be something alien or external to myself. It will be seen, therefore, that both humility and pride are involved in this belief in human freedom, and I think it is right that it should be so...

The Spiritual and the Temporal Orders

One cannot overestimate the effect of a belief that there is a spiritual order, and that man is as much a part of it as he is of this temporal world, and that he has a meaning given to him by God and a destiny ordained by God. One cannot overestimate the effect of a belief that the spiritual order both transcends and contains the temporal, that this spiritual order is sustained by God and that man is part of it. For this belief is the mother of hope. With it, we should neither despair of human society nor yet be unreasonably

optimistic about its progress to better and brighter -- not to mention faster and more devastating -- things...

But this belief of ours raises the whole complicated issue of the relations between the spiritual and the temporal orders, of the nature of our dual citizenship, of the relations between the Church and the State, between the Christian and the State, and of the duties of Church and Christian in the body politic and in that human activity called politics.

The spiritual order both transcends and contains the temporal order. Therefore we can expect to find -- and indeed do find -- certain values cherished in the temporal order which are fundamental to the good life, such as justice, love, truth and beauty. These we regard not as temporal but as eternal. We all acknowledge that the citizen of the State cannot enjoy unbridled liberty, but must often curb his individual desires for the sake of that common good which it is the duty of the State to pursue and maintain. And he must work for that common good; that is what we call his duty. But this common good must itself be subordinated to those supra-temporal goods -- justice, love, truth and beauty -- which are the very attributes of God. Insofar as any society considers itself to be the supreme good and self-preservation its supreme duty, insofar as it frees itself from subordination to supra-temporal goods, insofar as it imagines it has a purpose higher than cherishing justice, maintaining order, safeguarding peace and creating conditions for the full development of human personality, just so far is it destroying the common good and making it impossible for man to live the good life...

The Place of the Church

This recognition of a spiritual order and of supra-temporal values, which characterizes any good temporal society, gives the Church a special place within the State. Even if, as often happens in the modern State, the Church is regarded as just another organization, non-churchmen should recognize the special status of the Church, because the Church is concerned with those spiritual values which make a human being, whether believer or non-believer, more than a political creature.

This is a tremendous affirmation and we should recognize that it is. We are claiming for the Church a status quite different from that of any other association within the body politic. We are declaring that we have a spiritual as well as a temporal citizenship. We are even claiming that those values which give meaning to temporal citizenship are themselves values of a spiritual order. We are, in fact, declaring the superiority of the spiritual order, not in terms of temporal power, but in terms of its claim on our allegiance. It is no wonder that these claims throw into sharp relief the whole question of the relationship between the Church and the State.

One must admit here that the disunity of the Christian churches in itself poses difficult problems to the temporal authority. South Africa, like other countries, allows certain privileges and allots certain temporal functions to clergymen. But the multiplicity of churches, especially separatist churches among the Africans, has caused the temporal authority to restrict its bounty.

The disunity of the Christian churches causes other equally difficult problems. One is that, because of it, the churches are often severely

handicapped in their struggle to prevent the erosion of those supra-temporal values of which we have already spoken, the safeguarding of which is one of the first duties of the Church toward the body politic. Disunity, unfortunately, is particularly marked among the churches of South Africa, for there we not only have the fragmentation of denominationalism, but also cool, almost cold, relations between the English-speaking and the Afrikaans-speaking churches, while between the established churches and the new separatist churches there are hardly any relations at all. Such a thing as united Christian witness is thus virtually unknown.

Nevertheless I am glad to report that, with the exception of the Dutch Reformed churches, there was a remarkable unity of attitude on the part of the churches to the famous "Church Clause" of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957. This clause gave the Minister of Native Affairs the right to direct Africans to cease attending any church or church function held in an area outside an African residential area, if he considered that the presence of Africans in that area was undesirable. The only conditions were that, first, he must secure the consent of the local authority, and second, the church concerned must have a reasonable time to make representations.

The opposition of the churches to the "Church Clause" has never, I believe, had a parallel in the history of South Africa... Here the Church definitely challenged the State, because it believed that the State was asserting authority in the spiritual realm...

It is clear to us all here, I think, that the Christian recoils from any breaking of the law and that he has been pushed into an extreme position when he elects to disobey the law. Some people think that in doing so he goes to the extreme by choice and really enjoys breaking the law because of a streak of exhibitionism, or masochism, in his make-up. But most Christians, in such a case, have never before been found guilty of breaking the law and have no record of law-breaking.

There is obviously a vast area of debatable ground here. Obviously, too, one does not lightly resist the lawful authority. But I think it is clear that the lawful authority is also under an obligation, the obligation to cherish those supra-temporal values without which the body politic becomes a perversion of what it should be...

The New Africa

I do not think one can overestimate the importance of the role that the churches, whatever their numerical strength, will have to play in the new Africa. The churches have a duty to assist the State in maintaining, and perhaps even in pointing out, those supra-temporal foundations on which the good society is founded. And Christians, far from removing themselves from the world, have a duty toward it.

One must say something at this point on the question of religion and politics. When the notorious "Church Clause" was occupying the attention of South Africa, some Christians had no hesitation in describing all opposition as "political". More than one organization which protested against the clause suffered internal dissension because some members thought the organization was meddling with politics. Many South African Christians regard the taking of a moral stand on new legislation as purely political, and many think it is purely political to take a stand on human rights.

In my view, this attitude has been disastrous and has led many Christians and many Christian organizations to take no stand on any law, or indeed on any custom or convention which pertains to race relations, because to do so would be political. To a dangerous degree our churches are conforming churches and instead of transforming society have conformed to it. This does not mean that there are not Christians and churchmen, both lay and clerical, who have refused to conform and who have spoken out against conforming. But on the whole, the South African churches follow the customs of the country in racial matters rather than the great commandments. Indeed, many of them and many of their members have persuaded themselves that the customs of the country in racial matters are, in fact, a direct consequence of obedience to the great commandments. This conformity goes to great lengths, and one Christian organization whose very reason for existence is to associate in fellowship, suffered considerable internal strain because its executive protested against the government's intention to control association...

I must say here that I am not advocating that the Church should enter the arena of party politics, or back political parties, or become embroiled in political controversy, so much of which depends on the dishonest and partisan handling of ideas and words. But here is the whole world of Africa changing before our eyes; Africa is on the march, and insofar as the march has spiritual significance, the Church must be in the vanguard. For God's sake, let no one dismiss this march by calling it politics!...

Coming Events

This half-century which we have entered is likely to be the most vigorous, exciting, painful half-century that the continent has ever seen. The state of Ghana has won independence...the people of Nigeria are on the threshhold of independence... the Central African Federation is progressing toward it...Look where you will, the whole continent is on the move.

It is inevitable that African nationalism should play a great part in these events. In its best manifestations, nationalism is like self-respect and integrity in a person. At its worst, it is like arrogance, selfishness and even cruelty. In South Africa there are some white people who say that for people like myself the African is always right and the white man always wrong. That is rubbish. What is true is that the white man has had much more opportunity to be wrong and do wrong. This means that for the African there will be the temptation to do wrong in revenge for past hurts and deprivations. There is going to be a good deal of payment of historical debts.

While she will rejoice in the liberation of human energy and talents, the Church, as the guardian of the super-temporal values of the temporal order, the guardian, that is, of justice, love and truth, will have to oppose with all the spiritual authority invested in her the excesses and cruelties of nationalism in its worst manifestations as well as any seeking for revenge. Indeed, that is her duty now. How grateful we in South Africa can be that so many of our African people have become Christians! How grateful we can be for the labors of those who have built up such strong and devoted congregations whose members restore to Christianity the qualities of humility and simplicity that so many of us have lost!

This task of asserting spiritual authority in a rapidly changing society is not going to be easy. After an era of subordination it will not be easy

to rebuke excesses of nationalism. But it is a task that will be easier if the Church manifests in itself the kind of society that she longs to see in the body politic.

There is another phenomenon which is likely to confront the Church in this half-century. The power to govern is a heady wine, especially for those who have not tasted it before. There will be a great temptation to over-govern, to assume unprecedented powers in order to accomplish unprecedented tasks, and so to diminish the area of personal freedom. If Russian influence increases on this continent, as it seems likely to do, there will be a tendency for states to assume more and more powers, either under Russian influence or in opposition to it. There will also be the temptation to hasten progress so that the world can see how much more advanced we might have been had history not been so unkind to us...

I should like to conclude with a few remarks about the individual Christian and politics. I am taking it for granted that politics will benefit as the result of more and more participation on the part of Christians. None of us here is concerned about bringing politics into religion. We want to bring religion into politics. It might be said that politics is one of the ways for a religious man to try to ensure that justice, love, truth and beauty govern the life of the body politic.

A Christian can be conservative or reformist and still be a Christian. But he stands unequivocally for the supra-temporal good which the temporal order must cherish. Furthermore, he is aware of sin, both in himself and others. Yet he sees even his opponents as men and women who like himself are creatures of God and therefore dear in his sight and not fit subjects for tyranny. I do not believe that Christians always know what is best to do, and I certainly do not believe that they will always agree with one another. But on one thing and the most important thing, they should be agreed, namely, the nature of the foundation on which the good society should be built.

That is our task, to witness to these things, humbly because we are sinners, confidently because we are citizens of that continuing city of which Our Lord is the Master and King.

VI.

THE CRISIS FOR FRANCE IN NORTH AFRICA.

By André Philip

French opinion, systematically kept in ignorance and error, does not perceive even yet that the Sakhiet incident marks a decisive turning-point in the Algerian war. We have always maintained that a military Dien-Bien-Phu was not possible, and this is a fact. But it seems more and more likely that Sakhiet may turn out to be a diplomatic Dien-Bien-Phu. We cannot yet measure the consequences; they are going to appear in successive stages, unfolding from now on almost inexorably.

What, indeed, is the actual situation?

1. There is no possibility of French military victory in Algeria. On the contrary, the difficulties in this respect will only grow from month to month. It is too easy to speak ironically about M. Lacoste's "final quarter hour", which has already lasted a year and a half. But it was only a few months ago that the National Liberation Front (FLN) was being represented as all washed up and the Algerian war, in its military aspect, considered won. Today, it is bloodier than ever and if individual acts of terrorism seem to be diminishing in the cities, regular battles have started up again in the countryside and have spread from west to east over the whole of Algeria. It would appear that during the winter months we saw a situation analagous to that which followed the military victories of Delattre in Tonkin; he wanted to profit from them by immediately engaging in negotiations. No one agreed with him and he died too soon to be able to make his will felt. In Algeria, too, the chance to negotiate from a position of strength was not utilized and it seems now to have passed. In effect:

-- While it is possible, in fact quite true, that the majority of the Algerian population, Moslems as much as Europeans, are fed up with the sufferings of the conflict and ready to support anyone who will come up with a reasonable compromise, there still are diehards on both sides. But the French diehards, who are relatively older, prefer street demonstrations to actual fighting, and a strong government would make them see reason. Among the Moslems, on the other hand, the extreme element is made up of young people. Moreover, young people under 21 make up the majority of the population. As long as the military struggle continues, the F.L.N. will not have to worry about manpower, and its recruitment from the rising generation will be limited not by the number of volunteers, but only by the possibility of equipping and arming them.

-- The longer the war drags on, the stronger the organization on both sides will become. The F.L.N.'s weapons grow more and more numerous and more and more effective. Just as by the end of the Vietnam conflict China had reached the point of intervening more and more openly, so today the number of countries which send arms to the Algerian revolutionists keeps growing. Even if we hermetically sealed up the Tunisian frontier, they would come by sea and by desert. It is impossible to control effectively such an extended territory, crossed by mountain ranges and backing on the Sahara.

2. If there is no possibility of military victory, one must recognize that from now on the Algerian conflict is internationalized. Against their will, the Americans, assisted by the English, have been prevailed upon to intervene; it will no longer be possible for them to disengage themselves.

-- While free Morocco and Tunisia are in the hands of ardent patriots, they were formed by French culture. It would have been easy -- it may still be possible -- to establish a close association with them. It would not matter much what the legal form of this association was -- whether, for example, it were a federation or confederation. The essential thing is to keep them within the same monetary zone and maintain close collaboration between them within the framework of a common plan of economic development. As long as they were subjugated, these peoples thought only of independence; once they got it, they discovered its inadequacy and have learned that in the modern world a people's political autonomy can only be preserved by belonging to a larger community. Morocco, like Tunisia, was ready to renew its association with France. Morocco seems still open to this idea, but we have done everything we could to rid Bourguiba of it and drive him away from us.

-- In every way, Morocco and Tunisia wish to remain tied to the West. Neither of them is interested in entering the orbit of Cairo or in associating with people who are their cultural inferiors and whose standard of living is much lower than theirs. In fact, this would constitute for them an additional burden which might irremediably compromise their economic development. But even though the responsible leaders understand this and intend to remain tied to the West, it is clear that French policy more and more discourages them and risks putting them, even against their better judgment, in a position where they would be forced, for their own self-preservation, to orient themselves toward Cairo.

-- But neither the United States nor the European powers can let North Africa fall under the direct or indirect influence of Russia. Nor can they let her slide toward the neutralism which today predominates in the Middle East. Up to now, they have had confidence in France, hoping that in time she would reach an intelligent solution of the Algerian problem. But if we show ourselves definitely incapable of doing this, not one of our allies will be ready to sacrifice Western influence in North Africa to our folly. It is clear today that Bourguiba is gambling everything to win. If he fails, he risks losing all his influence over Tunisia and, in order to bring his adversaries around, he might be forced to take a leaf out of their political book.

-- Our feud with Tunisia is being carried on today under the worst possible conditions. As a result of the bombardment of Sakhiet, we have the whole world against us. (It is a curious thing that the U.S.S.R., which hardly desires to see Western influence in general augmented in Algeria, and particularly American influence, remains moderate for the moment and abstains from any pressure on France).

We have in Tunisia 15,000 soldiers scattered in camps where they are stationed, and a civilian population which every day fears the worst. After the seizure of the airplane of Bon Bella came the massacre of Meknès. If the same thing has not happened yet in Tunisia, it is because of the wisdom and personal authority of Bourguiba. But a serious incident could cause the situation to explode at any moment. In addition, the port of Bizerte is blocked to France and probably already lost. In fact, we now have no way

of retaliating by force; any act of violence toward Tunisia would have the same repercussions as the Suez expedition and, faced with the unanimous reaction of all the governments, even after a military success we would have to beat a shameful retreat.

3. In these conditions, what is possible?

-- In the course of the next few weeks, a courageous volte-face by France could still enable us to retake the initiative in negotiations. By settling the Tunisian incident with good will, by appealing to the good offices of the King of Morocco and Bourguiba, contacts could be established with the various elements of nationalist Algerian opinion. Only Bourguiba and the King of Morocco could reestablish, within the heart of the F.L.N., the predominance of political issues over military, which today is lost. They alone could impose the acceptance of other intermediaries who would equally be able to make themselves heard. They both have a stake in it, for they both wish to create in the North African Maghreb a Muslim group independent of Cairo, closely bound to the West, and, if possible, to France.

-- If a volte-face in French policy does not take place very soon, it would be desirable to arrange for mediation by the European Six. The existence of the Six, as well as of France, depends on the solution of the Algerian problem. It is curious, just the same, that the self-styled Europeans who voted for the Treaty of European Economic Community should have been on Great Britain's side in the Suez expedition and accept today the good offices of Great Britain and the United States. It is curious, too, that the European Movement which for two years has complained insistently about the elaboration of a common foreign policy by the Six, keeps quiet just at the time when it is indispensable that this foreign policy should be defined and affirmed. This is particularly clear in the case of Bizerte. If France cannot keep Bizerte, it would be in their interest to have it Europeanized in order to leave it out of the discussions between the two great powers.

-- If neither of these two initiatives is taken in the coming weeks, internationalization will be pursued and the men "of good offices" will not be able to avoid intervening in the Algerian problem. If France refuses this, the question will come before the Security Council and will inevitably end in the intervention of the U.S.S.R. against the United States. In fact the U.S.S.R. cannot let Bizerte become a part of the N.A.T.O. set-up without defending also her own interests. Internationalization would lead us, by stages, to total catastrophe, where a solution would be forced on us, as one was by the United Nations on the Dutch in the Indonesian affair, and neither of the two parties would benefit by it in the long run.

-- A very serious situation is also developing in domestic politics. Since that fatal day, the 6th of February, the successive governments have aroused in our nation a chauvinistic and nationalistic spirit, exciting public opinion by false propaganda in the press and on the radio. The government still continues its blustering, but sooner or later, when sufficient pressure is exerted, it will capitulate completely. It is thus running the risk of causing a violent revolt among those who realize they have been deceived, and among those soldiers who realize they have risked their lives for nothing. Since America will force us to capitulate, one will see a wave of anti-Americanism rise which will be Fascist in tendency. On its side, the working-class, deceived by the Communist Party, has been mobilized for several years running against the Americans. The Communist Party has not

enough authority over the workers today to make a spectacular last moment reversal and become pro-American when the United States takes an impartial stand in favour of a progressive, international and constructive solution. If the Fascists let loose another 6th of February on Paris, there will be so much trouble with the working-class that there will be no 12th of February to follow.

So we have only a few weeks left in which to take the necessary initiative and restore the situation. France used to shine in the world with an incomparable radiance, when she was a power for innovation and creation and when her lively imagination made her the champion of values universal in character. Today, little by little, she degrades herself to the level of ruined Spain through her inept isolationist pride. Meanwhile Germany quietly climbs back up the hill. European unity inevitably is realized, but it risks being dominated by Germany, not because of Germany's power, as some have feared, but as the result of France's suicide, a France who should have been the moving power and inspiration of a Europe in rebirth.